

PEACE NEWS

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WISHLFUL THINKING

It was the father of the present Prime Minister who confessed "I never know what those damned dots mean." It must have appeared from the figures in our HQ Fund returns a fortnight ago that we do not either! The late Lord Randolph Churchill was referring to decimal points, and you will notice that there was something distinctly dotty about ours. We reported contributions received during the previous fortnight as £200 and the total for the year to date as £155 9s. 9d.—masterpiece of mathematics. Only recently we put at the head of our HQ Fund paragraph the title "A little sum in Arithmetic." Some of our readers may recall that when inviting them to work it out and boasting that we ourselves had already done so, we did not give our own answer and refused to offer prizes for the best solutions.

Now you may well begin to suspect that we suffer like the Noble Lord from trouble with those damned dots, and were not quite sure whether we had got it right ourselves!

We beg you to believe that the mistake was not due to your Treasurers' weakness in decimal arithmetic. It may have been wishful thinking on our part that caused one of these dots to get out of place, or more probably it was merely a humdrum printer's error—for which of course we do not disclaim responsibility. In any case, our Accountant assures us that the amount due for acknowledgment should have been, not £200, as we recorded, but only £20 for the preceding fortnight; and that there is also no cheque for £180, real or imaginary, lying around somewhere in the office.

But won't some generous well-to-do supporters send one for that amount and make our dream come true; or a number of well-wishers help with smaller contributions towards the realization of our wishful thinking?

MAUD ROUNTREE
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Joint Treasurers

Contributions to HQ Fund since May 18: £47 19s. 6d. Year's total to date: £203 9s. 3d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Edgbaston St., W.C.1.

WELFARE OR POWER?

To heal divided Europe

By "ARGUS"

It is symbolic that Mr. Churchill's Coalition Government has scarcely survived the war in Europe. Its single aim, as he himself told us in 1940, was "Victory." It is now plain for all to see that (as Peace News insisted throughout the intervening years) that aim, by itself, was the absolute negation of a policy.

On the morrow of victory we find ourselves with no idea of what to do with it, and confronted by a Russia whose influence has spread over half of Europe, so that, even if we had a plan for the Continent better than Hitler's New Order, we are in no position to apply it.

"Up to date the most enormous questions"—concerning the occupation of Germany—"have been left unanswered," writes George Orwell in *The Observer* (May 27).

Beyond the "buffer"

In the absence of any coherent policy for Europe from the West, the Russians have it all their own way. Mr. Vernon Bartlett, in a typically restrained interpretation of Russian behaviour said:

"In order to keep any possible foreign adventurers away from their door they seem to be building up a barrier of buffer-States, the width of which varies according to the depth of their fears. And on the other hand the wider that barrier of buffer-States, the more likely the rest of us are to become alarmed and to say or do things which increase Soviet distrust... And so it comes about that almost everything that happens in any part of the world takes on a sinister significance." (The Listener, May 24.)

Much stronger language, however, comes straight from Moscow:

"The Soviet Union is a great democratic Power with sufficient might not only for the security of her own frontiers, but also to provide security for the peoples of Europe. The sooner this is realized by our friends and by our enemies the better it will be for all humanity." (Pravda, May 26.)

C.O.s under the Nazis

CHANNEL ISLANDS

Three went as hostages

C.O.S. WHO WERE IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS WHEN THE GERMANS ENTERED, AND WERE AFTERWARDS MOVED WITH OTHER ISLANDERS TO INTERNMENT IN GERMANY, ARE NOW BEGINNING TO REACH BRITAIN.

Three of those who were deported from Jersey actually went as voluntary hostages, in order that the Rev. T. E. Corrin, 65-year-old minister of St. John's Congregational Church, and his family, might be allowed to remain on the Island.

Mr. Corrin at first refused their offer, but, he told the *News Chronicle* (May 23), "They became insistent, declaring that they had no responsibilities, but that if we went the church would be deprived of my services.

"Eventually I consented and, with the agreement of the Germans, they left for Germany. These young men were all conscientious objectors on religious grounds. They were sincere."

The three COs had also (according to a *Daily Herald* report) refused to work for the Germans. They were: Leslie Owen, of Green Street Green, Kent; Harold Closs, of Colchester; and David Savage, of Leicester.

Another objector who was deported and has just arrived home tells his story in the May issue of the *Bulletin of the Central Board for COs*.

"On the whole," he writes, "the treatment was not unfair, and I myself know of nothing that might rank as 'atrocities' happening in this particular camp, though the German authorities were very difficult about the observance of the numerous regulations to which we were subject. When the Allied fortunes of war were in ascendant, treatment became noticeably better. The food was poor, and only the Red Cross parcels kept us going."

GERMANY

Few in camps gave in

The CBCO Bulletin also deals with the treatment of German COs. It

recalls that Dr. Emil Maurer, district chairman of the Socialist Party in pre-war Vienna, referred to this when he wrote of his experience of

More up-to-date and detailed information about the treatment of German COs will appear in Peace News next week. Based on the first-hand accounts of objectors who were among the survivors at Buchenwald and Belsen, it reached us as we went to press.

nine months in Dachau and other camps before the war in *The Tribune*, Apr. 27.

"When Dr. Maurer went to Buchenwald in September, 1938, out of 6,000 inmates of the camp about 1,200 were religious pacifists belonging to the sect of the Bible Students, many of whom were repeatedly offered release on the one condition that they should drop their objection to joining the Wehrmacht. Dr. Maurer said only three gave in out of the 800 to whom the offer was made."

Similar information is given concerning COs in a concentration camp for women in Mecklenburg.

DENMARK

Resisters kept together

THE War Resisters' International has just received news from the Danish movement "Aldrig mere Krig," an affiliated section of the International.

Hagbard Jonassen, who wrote on May 8 (VE-Day), as a member of the International Council and Secretary of the Danish movement, said they have published their paper, "Aldrig mere Krig," (No more war) every month, without a break throughout the occupation.

They have been able to keep in touch with their membership and have even held private gatherings. They have also kept in touch with comrades in Norway and Sweden. For the last 12 months they have been preparing for relief work in Europe in conjunction with Danish Friends.

The greeting recently sent from the AGM of the PPU has been sent to the Danish movement.

Commentary

In this situation, created largely by our own blindness, at least three courses of action are open to Britain:

1. To become what Arthur Koestler calls addicts of the Soviet-myth; to believe that Russia is democratic because Pravda says so, and to welcome the present set-up as a nice big instalment of the World Revolution. In which case we shall shut our ears to reports of such things as widespread "purges" in Balkan countries where Communists are getting into key administrative positions (*The Times*, May 23). The result would be abdication from the position we so often claim for ourselves of champion of the liberal-democratic idea in world-politics.

2. To take the blackest view of Stalin's intentions, and in defence of our imperial lifeline and other interests to prepare for the inevitable clash, teaming-up in the process with those in America who are already openly talking of a war with Russia. This would end all possibility of reaching an understanding with the USSR.

3. We can become realists and admit that our defence of freedom must in many cases now be limited by the extent to which Stalin can be persuaded of the disinterestedness of our arguments. This involves the honest recognition that in terms of power we now play second fiddle to USA and USSR, but it provides a realistic basis for the alternative of welfare-politics (the case for which is put elsewhere on this page).

A chance of progress

BUT we should have to stop pretending that what is expedient is automatically right. As G. A. Borgese wrote (of the Yalta decision concerning Poland), in an article in *Life* (Mar. 12):

"If we stated that we cannot do anything about it; that we are very sorry; that we have neither the will nor the power for intervening in Poland; that it would be insanity and crime to declare or prepare World War III against Russia—we would be honest. The evil starts when we try to talk ourselves into believing that the letter, let alone the spirit, of the Atlantic Charter is not being violated in Poland."

"There is no moral indignity in recognizing necessity. There is demoralization and disorder when necessity is camouflaged under sophistry."

A foreign policy actually inspired by the principles we so often profess would stand some chance of gaining support from the considerable idealistic element in America, which will otherwise suspect us of playing off USSR against USA. It offers the only hope of eventually transforming the present situation, in which power counts for more than human needs or libertarian ideals.

"Competitive" generosity

IN the sphere of immediate practical problems, we have an opportunity to make a fresh start on these lines.

While the Western Allies continue to apply a strict policy of non-fraternization in their part of Germany and announce that the food ration for civilians will provide 1,150 calories a day (1,000 less than is required to maintain normal health and strength), the Russians are doing everything possible to make themselves popular. Mr. Mikoyan, deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, went to study conditions in Berlin and Dresden, and on his return told Pravda of the terrible state in which the people were living.

"These circumstances compel our Com-

Politics of peace

By HUMPHREY S. MOORE

WHATEVER constructive features may finally emerge from San Francisco, both the foundation and whole emphasis of the future collective organization for keeping the peace rest on power—and exclusive power at that.

The avowed aim of all power systems, is to prevent war. But the fact is that power-groups do not prevent war: they only put it off and, at most, ensure ultimate victory—at a price.

Meanwhile, there is fear of war; the burden of securing and maintaining a power which no-one can ever be sure is enough either for existing needs or to meet the possibility of a rival power arising. Alternatively, there is danger of relaxing and then being taken unaware. And those possessing inferior power inevitably—however unjustly—regard those with superior power as a potential menace; so they too seek to increase their power, and thus tension grows.

A really all-inclusive, impartial power (if such a thing were possible) might remove most of these obstacles to peace. But two conditions at least are essential: it must be backed by an all-inclusive, impartial law; and it must administer a social order that reduces grievances to a minimum. And then peace would result, not from the power, but from the welfare of people enjoying life instead of fearing death.

If we want peace, therefore, we must abandon both "anarchic" and "collective" power-politics, and apply ourselves as wholeheartedly to welfare-politics.

It is impossible, in one short article, to describe in detail all that that means. It can be applied in as many

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

HIMMLER WAS "SYMPATHETIC"

- to Bishop who resisted

An interrogation by Himmler was among the experiences described by Dr. Eivind Josef Berggrav, Norwegian Primate and Bishop of Oslo, at a Press conference reported by a Norwegian news agency on May 14.

The Bishop was one of the leaders of the resistance to Nazism of the State Lutheran Church, and was arrested in 1942.

"Several times I was fetched to offer explanations both to Quisling and to Terboven," he said. "Quisling's attitude was belligerent, and he said I ought to have been executed a hundred times over."

"My most interesting experience was an interrogation by Terboven and Himmler at Skaugum. Hardly had I entered when Terboven began scolding me, using the most violent language. Neither Himmler nor I took much notice of him.

"Himmler during the conversation appeared sympathetic and intelligent, and I felt that at heart he respected my views entirely."

"The fact that he did not dare to stand by his convictions only goes to prove how devilish is the whole system he supports." (The Bishop was speaking before Himmler's suicide.)

Dr. Berggrav added that after he had given Himmler "a comprehensive explanation" of why the Norwegian Church and people resisted the New Order, Himmler said that it would be stupid to make a martyr of me.

"There is another way to break your power and influence," he said, "and that is to let you be forgotten."

(The non-violent resistance of the Lutheran Church to attempts at "Nazification" was described in Peace News on Jan. 12.)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

SLOW DEATH

"ALTHOUGH there is little indication of the scale of rations Europe is to receive," says The Economist (May 26), "there is at least one authoritative statement of the plight it is in." It is the survey issued on Apr. 30 by the British, Canadian and United States representatives at the Washington supply conference, which says:

"In Amsterdam and Rotterdam . . . conditions are almost indescribable, with large populations existing on one meal a day mainly composed of sugarbeets and obtained at soup kitchens. These people are getting no more than 450 to 500 calories a day, which means slow death."

"Which means slow death." Somehow the imagination of the well-fed has to be sensitized to the slow death of the Dutch cities. In that context, the cuts in British rations which (The Economist estimates) amount to 100 or 150 calories are not very impressive, for our consumption last year averaged 2,923 calories. But it is a step in the right direction, the more particularly for being taken almost in the moment of victory and in a public atmosphere expectant for its fruits.

Moreover, even this modest gesture has great practical significance in releasing food where it is most needed. A hundred calories is scarcely one-thirtieth of our ration: it is a quarter of the Dutch city-dweller's. And the fact that any further tightening of the British belt is politically possible just now is a rebuff to those newspapers which encourage national selfishness through self-pity. That the cut has been accepted provides ample vindication of pacifist pressure for the right to divert to Europe some of our own rations. The effect of the overall reduction is to make available for Europe more than could have been provided by public-spirited people "contracting in." It is at least possible that the volume of public decency uncovered by our initiative in this matter has surprised the Ministry concerned, much as it has itself popularized (within the national unit) the notion of "Fair do's all round." At all events, Col. Llewellyn has retreated. We may suspect that his talks in America have been powerfully persuasive. However that may be, the British people are neither so unimaginative nor so selfish as some would have us believe. Pacifists have done well in helping establish the point.

If the situation for Britain's allies is bleak, that of her ex-enemies may indeed be catastrophic. The difficulty lies in sorting out facts from statements—sometimes, one must suppose, propaganda—by the various spokesmen. In which category is the figure of 1,150 calories now said to be fixed for the ordinary German consumer? The Evening News heads its latest report of the situation "7,000,000 Huns face Starvation," and indeed such a ration, operating through a Continental winter, could mean nothing less.

"beginning today, every German man, woman and child in the Rhineland areas controlled by the 15th Army will be limited to a maximum of 1,150 calories a day with 2,800 calories for heavy labourers." (BUP, May 28.)

The discrepancy is extraordinary. The latter figure is about enough to keep the heavy worker fit for heavy work; the former—well under half as much—is not enough to keep life going. For as the United Nations supply chiefs put it:

"A level of 2,000 calories is, however, no more than an emergency level, insufficient to maintain a working population. At such a level it is not possible for a liberated people to engage upon the task of rebuilding their agriculture and industry."

If that is not possible for a liberated people, then what is possible for a beaten people on three-fifths as much? It may well be that someone is afraid of showing tenderness to the Germans in the matter of food just as our own rations are clipped. This is the least sinister explanation. But—whatever it is—we ought to know on what considerations the precise figure of 1,150 calories was adopted.

JOHN SCANLON says the last word on the EDUCATION OF GERMANY (and a lot of other things as well)

TWO things stand out clearly as the result of victory. One is that we must educate the Germans. The other, according to Lord Vansittart in The Times recently, is that all the political parties must have agreement on foreign policy.

Naturally there must be a clearing of the ground before we can decide what standard of education we can offer the Germans. This work is already being undertaken by MPs. For instance, in contemplating the devastation in Europe, Mr. Shinwell has already asked Mr. Churchill (May 10) "what is going to happen to all the discarded German uniforms?"

Mr. Silverman, on the other hand, asked Mr. Churchill on the same day, whether he did not consider "that the transfer of the major part of the German army from uniformed activity to civilian work and clothing one of the major objects of the war." Mr. Churchill's reply, however, would seem to indicate that Mr. Silverman himself had not been properly educated, for he said: "It was certainly not presented to the public here as one of the major objects of the war."

This reply, besides showing the need for higher education for Germans also shows that there was unanimity amongst those who mattered on the purposes of the war. At least it is clear that we were not fighting to get the Germans out of uniforms, and into civilian utility suits.

Banks also tried

For instance, away back in September, 1936, the three big international banks had made it clear that one safeguard for peace was:

"action . . . without delay to relax progressively the present systems of quotas and exchange controls with a view to their abolition."

Probably Mr. Silverman, as a result of not being properly educated, was unaware that exchange controls were more of a menace to peace in 1936 than were German uniforms. For on this problem of exchange control there was unanimity. Thus, for instance, on Feb. 5, 1940, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, whilst still Prime Minister, told the National Lunch Committee that "This war would never end until we had destroyed the system of autarchy."

On this question it would seem German education is complete. For, as Mr. Churchill himself said:

"The spectacles which are witnessed in Germany of the frightful destruction of all the towns and cities and so on should be in themselves a considerable argument to the German people in favour of the fact that they have suffered some military reverses" (Laughter and cheers) —The Times (May 11, 1945).

From this one can safely conclude that as the result of the devastation we shall not require to educate the Germans on the criminal folly of practising autarchic trading. They ought to have known better anyway, for when Russian goods began to pour into Britain, Mr. Baldwin made it plain that Russian autarchy was as harmful to our people as war itself.

Question of money

There is one other question on which it would appear utterly useless for us to try to educate the Germans. I refer to the question of Money, and the Power of Money.

Readers who have seen the interview with Dr. Schacht will readily agree that this would be a waste of time. For Dr. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank and thus a power in the land, with all his knowledge and all his power, had to confess that Hitler never understood money or the power of money. True, Dr. Schacht had not tried to educate Hitler by "the frightful destruction of all the towns and cities," and now, of course it is too late.

Germany will be educated up to British standards. This will mean that twice a week there will be a Hollywood film, that there will be less of Wagner and Beethoven and musical education will be safely left to the crooners of the BBC. Dog-race tracks will have to be opened, and their best writers can now devote themselves to stimulating a healthy interest in football.

I think it will be generally agreed that these are the things which have helped to make us what we are, and should eventually make the Germans what we are. And so long as we are what we are it makes for continuity in foreign policy.

This sacred unity

With the possible exception of myself nobody knows better than Lord Vansittart how important it is that there should be unity on foreign policy. It carried us through the dark days of 1931 when France was literally draining gold away from London.

In those dark days Lord Vansittart was Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office and thus giving Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Labour Prime Minister, the benefit of his knowledge. Thus it was that when Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons on June 29, 1931, had expounded his faith, Mr. Baldwin, as leader of the Opposition, rose in his place and said:

"I rejoice to think that, at any rate, there is a general feeling for continuity of national foreign policy among all parties."

This general agreement made it easier to follow our continuous foreign policy to its victorious end. Germany was offered equality in arms with France, and the gold came back to London. It was unfortunate that Germany did not remain content to allow France to be the strongest Power in Europe. But this, as we know now, was because they were getting the wrong kind of education. As Dr. Schacht has said, "Hitler did not know the power of money."

LETTERS

Von Krosigk's motives

ARGUS' eulogy over Count von Krosigk's broadcast (PN, May 18) seemed to me a typical sample of pacifist gullibility. What is there really in this man's past record to warrant such unctuous acceptance of his admittedly high-sounding words? Associate of the reactionary clique which helped Hitler into power in the hope that the Nazis would serve their ends, trusted Finance Minister from 1933, efficient director of the German war-economy and administrator of the notorious financial levies against the Jews, von Krosigk trimmed his sails for twelve years to the Nazi wind. During that time his "inner conviction of justice as the supreme law and guiding principle of national and international life" was certainly little in evidence.

Repentance? Where is this "recognition of the evil that has been perpetrated in their own land and beyond"? Certainly not in von Krosigk's broadcast or in any statement by Doenitz or Speer. There is "pride in the heroic struggle of our people" but no condemnation of the criminal policy under which they were content to serve.

"Argus" believes that "any hand" (my italics) stretched out from a Germany in the chaos of defeat which makes a gesture of willingness to co-operate should be grasped at this hour.

I can conceive of no action more likely to plunge any truly repentant or socially progressive forces in Germany into despair and throw the German people into the arms of Communism than the maintenance in positions of political responsibility of men who prospered under Nazism and who would probably be the willing tools of any State power which left undisturbed the privileges of their social class. This judgment may be proved too harsh but at least at the present moment it behoves responsible people to refrain from handing out bouquets so indiscriminately to people who have as yet done nothing positive to deserve them.

MAURICE BUTCHER
338 Billing Rd. East, Northampton.
Argus writes: "I am sorry if my words seemed to imply that Britain should co-operate unconditionally just for the sake of co-operating with any German leader. But von Krosigk's acknowledgement of 'the atmosphere of hatred which today surrounds Germany' and the tenor of other passages seemed to me to constitute what I called 'a willingness to recognize the evil that has been perpetrated' and to suggest a desire for Germany to pursue a different course in the future.

"If such words are but a cover for baser designs by Doenitz's supporters, it is within the power of the Allied authorities to prove the fact. The Allies themselves ought also to be concerned to mobilize all human, moral, and material forces in order to heal the dreadful wounds which the war has caused. Should they not put to the test any German profession of willingness to help?" —Ed.

Freedom Press

I feel obliged, as a social-democrat, to back the AGM resolution on the Freedom Press case against Mr. Whitten's criticisms. Of course John Hewson and his friends were guilty of a breach of law, but the law of this realm is comprehensive and cumbersome enough to cover almost any action the Government cares to bring into the courts.

The Freedom Press case should never have come to the courts, however, and the "Gestapo" raids on anarchist premises were entirely contrary to British democratic tradition. It is sheer fantasy to suggest that the three anarchists were fomenting civil war; they were expressing honest opinions with injudicious exuberance. The Government's action was simply spiteful.

Social democracy is nothing if not liberal, and I cannot for the life of me see why it should be less tolerant than capitalist democracy of anarchists or anti-Semites or any other misguided minority.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

13 Southwood Ave., N.6.

Lesson of atrocities

To understand Nazi atrocities it is important to consider one point which I have nowhere seen emphasized.

The men in charge of concentration-camps and their staffs were sadists picked and trained for the purpose. Such men can be found in any country, as recent cases of cruelty to children and to prisoners in military prisons in this country have shown, or the behaviour of Mosley's Blackshirts at Olympia in June, 1934, but here—apart from exceptional instances such as that of the "Black and Tans"—they are normally restrained by lack of opportunity and by the law. When, however, as in the SS, such men are set above the law, given unlimited opportunity to indulge their evil passions and absolute power over their defenceless prisoners, the lengths of devilish cruelty to which they will go beggar description.

It is not therefore, as R. W. Barnes writes, in "inherent sadism" that the Germans differ from us, but simply in having been the victims of a gangster regime which set a premium on sadism. It is a commonplace of psychology that there are sadistic impulses latent in every human being. "There, but for the Grace of God," goes each one of us.

SCOTT BAYLISS.

P.P.U. history

Having for some time felt that a history and handbook of the P.P.U. was a genuine need I through your columns ask readers to send me contributions likely to prove suitable, i.e., interesting anecdotes of local activities both before and during the war, photographs, etc., in the hope that a good enough result will make such a venture possible.

AUDREY JUDD.

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DEFINITION

AREA COMMITTEES were not set up to provide group officers with additional meetings to attend and more work to do but in order to share out the organizational jobs that had previously been done from Head Office.

By having responsible officers on the spot, with an understanding of local conditions, we hoped that it would be possible to give better service to the groups than from a Head Office staff with only limited time and limited understanding of the different problems in various parts of the country. Moreover it was felt that Area organization would be a more natural expression of the desire of members to combine for discussion and joint action than one organizational headquarters centralized in London.

* * *

GROUPS have their place in the Area development plan and are asked to help Area Committees:

(1) By sending representatives to meetings of the Committee and making a contribution to the planning of the Area work;

(2) By assuming responsibility for nearby "weak" districts;

(3) By contributing to Area discussion of policy questions and receiving a report from the Area representative on National Council,

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

either at the Area meeting or at a special group meeting.

(4) By collecting funds for the work of the Area and National Movement and by sending regular contributions to the Area treasurer on or before the 15th of the last month of each quarter.

CONTACT MEMBERS are not, as one or two people have imagined, individuals who are out of touch with the local organization and have a direct link with Head Office, but people who have agreed to take on many of the functions of a secretary in a district where it is not possible to have regular meetings. They are asked to maintain a link with other pacifists in their neighbourhood and provision is also made for them to play their part in Area work.

LONDON AREA asks that it be made clear that although they did not send a contribution "in" the first quarter of this year, they did let us have £134 14s. 11d. on Apr. 5 "for" the first quarter. The Development Column of Apr. 13 announced that nothing had been received from them "for" the first quarter because we have made it known to all Areas that we are not able to accept contributions after the closing of our books on the last day of the month. It should be said that London Area have been very good about sending money in the past in spite of heavy obligations in connexion with the running of their own office.

This is perhaps the occasion to stress to Group secretaries that they should despatch their quarterly contribution to Area treasurers by June 15 and Area Treasurers should send us all the money that they have in hand for Head Office before the last day of the quarter.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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Leading pacifists write to Wavell ON INDIA DEADLOCK

A letter has been sent to Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, by six leading members of the Peace Pledge Union, expressing the hope that a British initiative might be taken to help to end the Indian political deadlock.

A courteous reply from Mr. Evan M. Jenkins, Lord Wavell's Private Secretary, says the Viceroy "has noted your views, and regrets that owing to the pressure of his engagements and the uncertainty of the date of his return to India it is impossible for him to see representatives of the Union."

The letter to Lord Wavell (sent at the suggestion of the P.P.U. Public Action Committee) was signed by Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman, John Middleton Murry, Prof. Charles E. Raven, Dame Sybil Thorndike, and Dr. Alex. Wood (P.P.U. Chairman). It said:

"We have been concerned for many years at what we can only regard as the failure of British policy in India. . . .

"Friends of India in this country felt more hopeful in the weeks immediately following your appointment as Viceroy than at any time for many years. It was frequently said that you wished to release the detained nationalist leaders. You were able to release Mr. Gandhi on health grounds. Also the very energetic steps you immediately took to mitigate the disastrous famine conditions in Bengal lessened the very grave tension in India at that time.

"The failure to release the other Congress leaders, the failure to meet Mr. Gandhi—a step which none of your predecessors have been able to avoid!—have been rightly or wrongly attributed to the unyielding attitude of the India Office rather than to your own inclinations. Reports to this effect culminate in the recent reports from India that you are unwilling to continue as Viceroy unless the detainees can be released.

"We cannot expect you to take any step to deny or confirm such rumours but we are inclined to give sufficient credence to them to believe that you need no exhortation from ourselves or others to do your utmost to end

Words of Peace - No. 127

Take my word for it, if you had seen but one hour of war, you would pray to Almighty God that you would never see such a thing again.

—Duke of Wellington

MAX PLOWMAN ISSUE. John Hogan: "Max Plowman, Artist"; Ronald Mallone: "Max Plowman"; Duke of Bedford: "Post-war Plans"; Fritz Gross: "Curing Nazi-ism"; San Francisco: "No War Against Russia"; Illustrated "Christian Party News-Letter," 5d. 30 Derby Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

MEETINGS, etc.

NORTH LONDON REGION now hold breakfasts quarterly. Next is on Sun., June 3, 9 a.m., Independent Church Parlour, Edmonton, N.9. Speaker: Donald Port.

LONDON FORUM. Director: Fredrick Lohr. Public Lecture by G. H. Bantock on "Shakespeare and the Man of Action" Part II. Mon., June 4, at 7.30. The Chancery Theatre, Clareville St., South Kensington.

P.P.U. SUMMER SCHOOL: Sept. 15-22. Applications immediately to John Barclay, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

ENDURING PEACE—or Third World War? Public meeting at Methodist Hall, Green Lanes, Winchmore Hill, N.21 (opposite Barrowell Green). Mon., June 4, 7.45 p.m.

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ARE THE Higher Critics wiser than Christ? He based His teaching on the Old Testament because He believed it to be infallible. The logical grounds for this belief are given in "Vox Dei" free on application to Christadelphian, 28 West Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686) Rd., Bedford, Middlesex.

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STUART MORRIS. We are glad to announce that Stuart Morris, for

eight years a member of the W.R.I. Council, is available to undertake speaking engagements on behalf of the War Resisters' International. Applications to be made to W.R.I. headquarters, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

PACIFISTS anxious to contact others in Epsom area. C. Risley, Broad St., Epsom, Surrey.

PERSONAL

APLOGIES TO READERS awaiting return of fountain pens. Delay due to transfer to new premises.

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DOUGLAS COTTRILL. Nature Cure Practitioner. Treatment of disease by natural methods. Consultations by appointment only. 8 Hayfield Rd., Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

M.P. NOT ALLOWED TO LECTURE IN U.S.

In April this year Rhys J. Davies, MP, was invited by the American Friends Service Committee to give a series of addresses in various parts of the USA from early June until mid-June.

In a letter to Mr. George Hall, Foreign Office Under-Secretary, he explained that "although, as you know, I have certain views on the present world situation I would not, in common parlance, 'Foul my own nest' . . . I would say and do nothing there that would mar the good relationship between our two countries."

In reply, Mr. Hall pointed out that "permits to leave this country for the U.S. are given on the certificate of a Government department"—in this case, the Ministry of Information. Mr. Davies then applied to Mr. Brendan Bracken who declared, in a letter dated May 2, that the MoI "could not possibly become responsible for sponsoring your proposed lecture tour as being in the national interest."

P.P.U. member will be a candidate

A P.P.U. member, Councillor J. C. Dempsey, of Rothwell, Kettering, is planning to stand as Independent Christian candidate at Kettering. He is drawing up an eight-point programme under the following headings:

Housing, Employment or Proper Maintenance, Education, Health Services, Adequate Pensions, Monetary Reform, Planned Economy ("freedom as much as possible from State control consistent with protecting people from all forms of injustice and greedy exploitation"), and International Understanding and Interdependency.

"The ordinary common people of the world have no quarrels," he says.

PLIGHT OF FRENCH CHILDREN

At a reception given by Entr'Aide Francaise to meet their President, M. Justin Godard, at Grosvenor House on Friday, Mme. Yvonne Cooper, Présidente de la Commission d'Aide aux Enfants des France de Grande-Bretagne, told of the plight of the French children and the help and sympathy she had received from the young people of England. She paid a special compliment to the work of the Youth Helps Youth Society, started in this country by the French pacifist, Jean Inebnit.

Just returned from a three weeks' visit to France, she had been looking forward to this opportunity of telling the children in the schools there what their young English friends had been so eager to do for them; one child had contributed £2 to the funds by the sale of her dolls' house. Another had cleaned bicycles for her teachers and school-

fellows at 2d. a time and had managed to raise 15s.

The problem of the well-being of the children of Europe was one for which no solution on the material level could be sufficient. Many of them had been taken into Nazi homes when they were babies and no details of their origin could be found, so it was impossible to trace their parents and even their nationality was often in doubt.

For years disobedience had been a patriotic duty and now difficulties were bound to arise.

The young people of France needed help from the young people of Britain, said Madame Cooper, but they did not forget what Britain herself had suffered. V.I and V.2 had finally proved that we were no longer an island but a part of the continent of Europe and we had friends on the other side of the Channel. The unity of the youth of the two countries was unassailable and she believed that it might become the very foundation of the peace of Europe.

Gwyneth Anderson attended the reception as representative of the recently concluded Food Relief Campaign.

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SCHOOLMASTER, certified and experienced, requires non-resident post Sept. or earlier. Burnham Scale. Box 974.

C.O., 24, single, seeks land-work, pref. with small group or community. 3 yrs. exp. Box 973.

C.O., married, four yrs. wide experience, keen, desires post with farmer. Cottage, flat, essential. Box 979.

PACIFIST (33) interested diet reform, gardening, arts; seeks post vegetarian guest house, nature cure or similar, needing imagination, ideas. Assist management—consider anything. Box 980.

MAN with one yr. experience farming, two yrs. vegetable growing, wants market-garden work, South Bucks, or near, starting early July. Box 981.

TWO QUAKER WOMEN (middle-aged) seek combined post; one as Companion, light duties and sewing, other capable of domestic duties and cooking, in guest-house, school, institution or friendly home. Box 982.

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THE POLITICS OF PEACE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

ways as power-politics is applied. But a statement of some of the characteristics and principles of welfare-politics, in comparison with those of power-politics, will indicate the sort of tasks involved.

★
IN many respects the two systems are completely opposite.

Power-politics means seeking power for oneself first (though collective power also strengthens others), at the expense of those outside the power-group; welfare-politics means seeking the well-being of all (including, of course, oneself). Power-politics makes enemies; welfare-politics makes friends.

Under power-politics, however big the power-group, if it makes only one enemy, its authority is weakened and its people must work harder to strengthen it: under a system of welfare-politics, however small the group operating it, if it makes only one friend, its authority is strengthened and its ability to promote the well-being of all is increased by the resources of that friend.

Power-politics causes fear of war and eventually actual hostilities: welfare-politics does not merely give the hope of peace, but is peace. Power-politics diverts much of men's time and energy to work which is essentially destructive—or useless: Welfare-politics not only satisfies men's minimum needs, but directs energies and resources to improving the material and spiritual conditions under which people live.

In other ways, though not exactly opposite, power-politics and welfare-politics are very different.

The pursuit of power in international affairs means putting loyalty to an allied Power before the pursuit of an ideal. The difficulties of international relations cannot be evaded

and must not be belittled. But if the welfare of all peoples, and removal of possible threats to their peace, were our aim, we should be loyal to that ideal first: which means co-operating to the full with anyone in any effort or suggestion that might further that aim, and using our influence—if necessary by withdrawing or withholding co-operation—to prevent anyone hindering it.

In home affairs, power-politics tends to cause exploitation of the dispossessed; whereas seeking the welfare of all would tend to remove such distinctions altogether.

★
YET there is one similarity at least between the two systems: both cost something; both cost a lot—not only in money—to make them successful.

If blood, tears and sweat are the price of success in war, the price of trying to ward off (and preparing against) the day of future hostilities is not much less, especially as the struggle for power gets fiercer. Mr. Churchill, in his post-victory broadcast on May 13, said:

"You must be prepared for further efforts of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes, if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim, and the craven fear of being great. You must not weaken in any way your alert and vigilant frame of mind."

What of the cost of welfare-politics? Vigilance, yes (especially while the idea is new and others still prefer power) and alertness; "sacrifices to great causes," certainly; "efforts of mind and body" above all.

But the sweat demanded would be less than the pursuit of power demands, because seeking the welfare of all includes sharing the task and helping one another to lighten it. For the same reason the sacrifices would be neither so great nor so vain.

Not only is the cost less than the cost of being powerful, but the reward of seeking the welfare of all

is infinitely greater. It is nothing less than friendliness, which is the essence of true peace and basis of real freedom. Power gives the right to command, the ability to compel; but what is the good of that, if it means (as it does) that only the privileged can enjoy freedom and no-one can really enjoy peace?

Commentary

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

not the only consideration. Our moral standards and traditions compel a humanitarian attitude towards peaceful inhabitants of a conquered people. . . . Our traditions do not allow us to pass by the privations and sufferings of the peaceful population of Germany."

The Manchester Guardian (May 22) remarked:

"One cannot help feeling . . . that Mr. Mikoyan's statement will seem ten years hence a good deal more far-sighted than the pronouncements of some of our military governors."

The switch in apparent policy comes easier to the Russians, with their totalitarian control of all organs for shaping public opinion, than it would to us. But it has another aspect:

"It should be realized that the competition for the allegiance of the German people has already started."

"The present piecemeal occupation of Germany and Austria is exhausting and unsatisfactory to them (the Russians) as much as to us, but they may hope to elbow us out of these countries altogether if they oppose clear policies to feeble or divided ones." (George Orwell, The Observer, May 27.)

It may now be too late to do anything about the division of the politico-military control of Germany. It would be disastrous if the situation is allowed to drift on until even the economic life of Germany and of Europe is conducted in two water-tight compartments.

Europe's need

“Even from a narrow viewpoint of self-interest we should be stupid to continue with the policy of non-fraternization and worse-than-iron rations.

"The worse things become, the greater is the chance that the Germans will forget how bad it was under Hitler. Future generations will believe that things were wonderful under Hitler." (Curt Riess, New York Times, Apr. 22.)

The hatred of the occupying Power that we found in many parts of Europe should remind us that a policy of repression and isolation produces a corresponding psychological reaction. Do we want to evoke out of German despair something worse than the worst features of the Nazi movement?

From a wider European point of view, too, a different approach is required. Before the war, the Continent suffered from artificial barriers

WHAT EUROPE NEEDS

to its economic life. Germany set out to rectify this, but the German attempt at hegemony was defeated. Now the eastern half of the Continent is again under unified economic control. Can we not reverse our own policy toward our part of conquered Germany, and at the same time kill any Russian fears of a "competition for the allegiance of the German people" by suggesting co-operation between east and west in economic reconstruction?

Chance for co-operation?

"If Anglo-America produces . . . a workable plan," says George Orwell in the Observer, "the Russian mood may change, and it may be possible to work out the common policy without which this huge problem can hardly be solved."

He gives no reasons for his guess. But so fast have events moved that only in the sphere of economic reconstruction are there left any questions sufficiently open for east-west consultation to have much chance of shaping the immediate future. At the purely political level there are already too many *faits accomplis*; these, it is true, may be taken as a Russian attitude that will not welcome co-operation in other matters. It is significant that even Mr. Kingsley Martin, after a detailed defence of Stalin's policy towards Poland, abruptly changes his tune in order to conclude:

"Their desire (i.e. that of liberal-minded persons in Britain and USA) is to co-operate with the Soviet Union, but they will certainly turn against it if the Russians behave without regard for that system of morality and good faith which, in spite of our shortcomings, still has dynamic force in the West." (New Statesman, May 26.)

If we are faced only with a vicious circle of fear, a proposal of co-operation in creating the economic conditions of peace might help to break that vicious circle. If the attempt fails, the circumstances of the failure may indicate whether or not we are up against something other than simple suspicion on Russia's part of her allies' intentions.

One thing is certain: peace will come only to a Europe whose people are free from hunger and poverty—and, whether we like it or not, the German people are Europeans.

Lived on hunger-rations for six months 36 C.O.s volunteered

PEOPLE in Europe who have been living on or near starvation-level may today be benefiting from the results of experiments which have gone on for a long time on 36 American conscientious objectors at the University of Minnesota.

The pacifists were selected from volunteers in the Civilian Public Service system. The experiments have been carefully controlled in order to provide detailed knowledge on the extent and kind of bodily and mental deterioration produced by subsistence under conditions resembling famine, and on the most effective means of restoration by relief feeding.

For this purpose the volunteers have had to live for a three-month "standardization period" on a diet calculated to represent "average" American diets (i.e. less than National Research Council recommendations, but not grossly bad).

This is followed by six months on semi-starvation diet, consisting of the type of food most commonly available under European famine conditions, with emphasis on bread, potatoes, turnips, and macaroni. This diet is calculated to produce a loss in bodily weight of between 20 and 30 per cent. in six months.

The final phase is three months of "rehabilitation diets." For this period the volunteers were divided into four groups, each of which lived on a different diet so that the results could be compared.

Observations throughout the experi-

ment included detailed tests and measurements covering clinical, physiological, biochemical, and psychological questions.

(Some British C.O.s have also taken part in controlled feeding and other experiments, at the Sorby Research Institute, Sheffield.)

Two women C.O.s jailed

At Clerkenwell police court on May 23, Pamela Coates, a member of PPU headquarters staff, was fined £5 with one guinea costs for failing to comply with her registration conditions as a C.O. She refused to pay and was sent to prison for seven days.

For not complying with her registration conditions of hospital work or nursing, Alma Gillender, a Swallow-on-Tyne unconditionalist, was sent to prison for a month without the option of a fine by Gateshead magistrates on May 16. She had previously been prosecuted for a similar offence and fined £5 with two guineas costs, which was paid by someone without her knowledge.

Quakers on conscription

A statement on military conscription, drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Society, was presented to the 277th Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends which ended in London last week.

The statement says: "Service on behalf of our fellows is at once a duty and a privilege. Compulsory military service is sometimes claimed as a duty attaching to citizenship. But it is not true social service. On the one hand it is part of the attempt to maintain peace by force, and on the other it is training in methods which are contrary to the highest moral standards recognized by man. . . . Neighbours are regarded as potential enemies . . . but peace can only be won as neighbours are turned into friends. . . . In the interests of peace and morality, above all in the name of Christ, the Society of Friends urges the Government to abandon military conscription."

OPEN-AIR PITCHES RE-STARTED

"Although victory in Europe has been won," said Tom Ridley at the Carlisle Cross on Saturday, "many battles have still to be fought before lasting peace is established." The pacifist movement would make a contribution through a regular series of open-air meetings at which the vital issues would be examined.

It was the local PPU group's first open-air meeting since 1939 and, as at Nottingham in similar circumstances on Sunday, the main speaker (Donald Port) had a good hearing. The Nottingham meeting was remarkable in resulting in the sale of nearly £1-worth of literature, including 3 dozen copies of Peace News.

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